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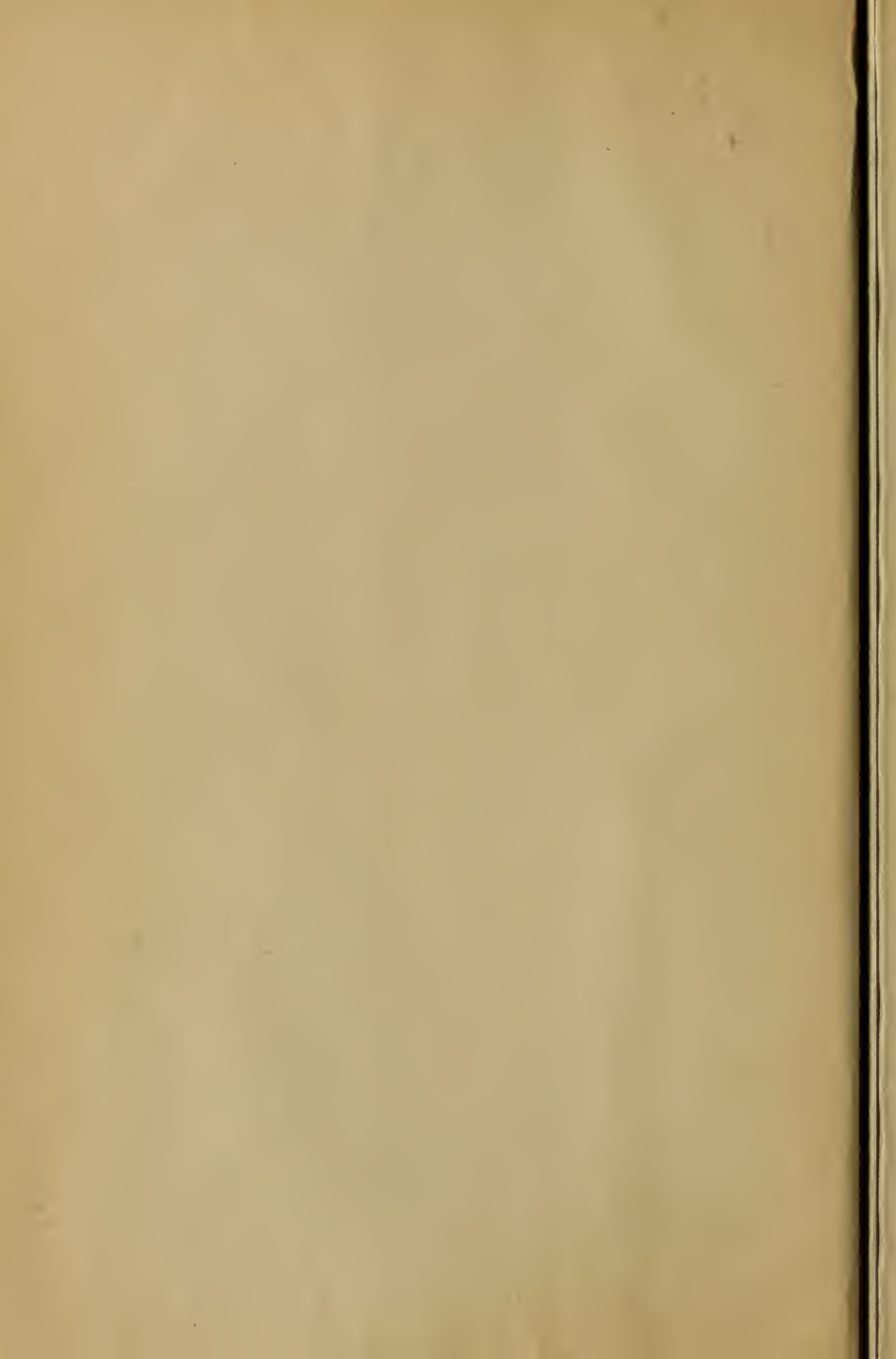
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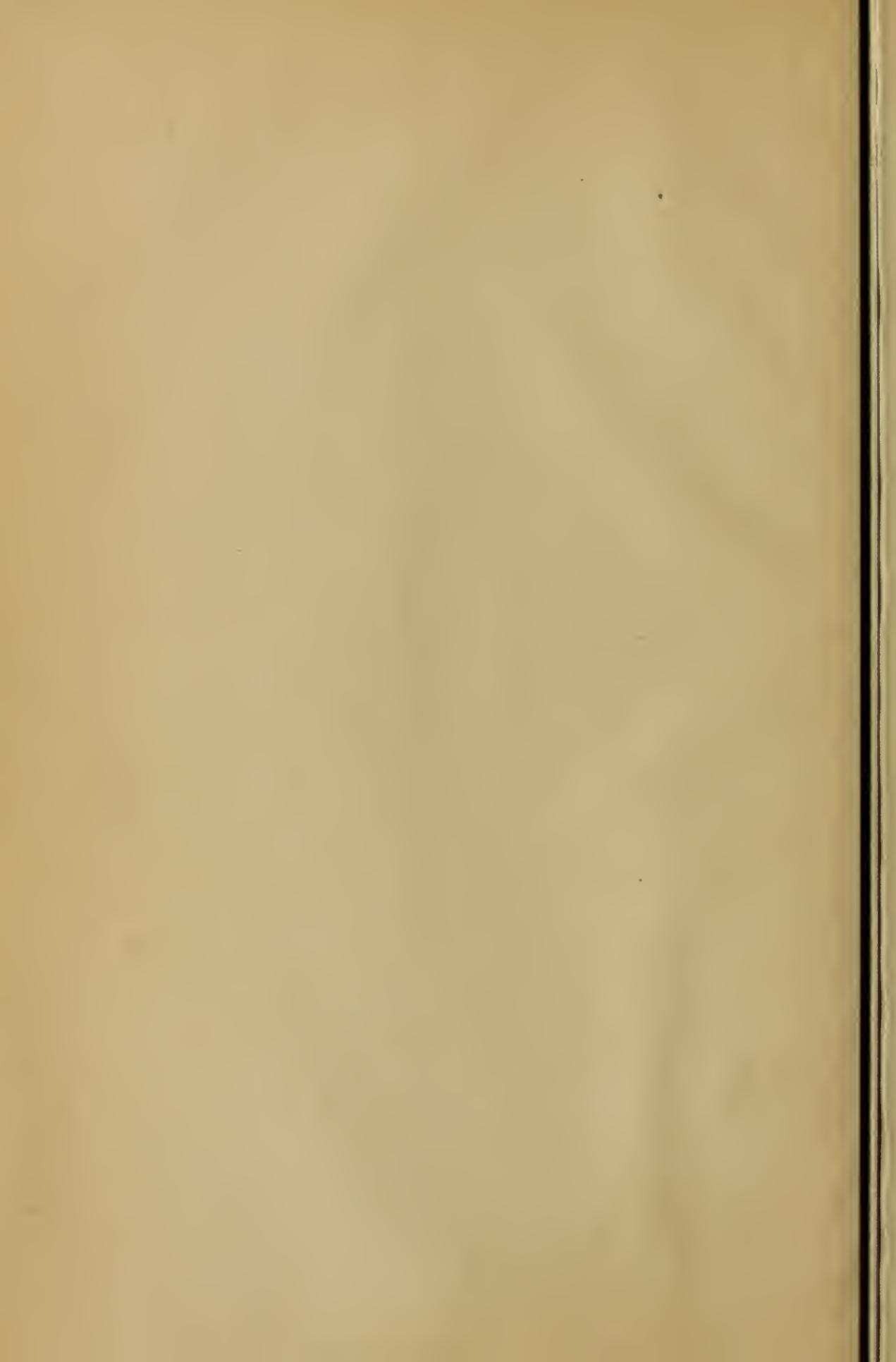


















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THE  
RELATIONS BETWEEN  
CAPITAL AND LABOR  
IN THE  
UNITED STATES.

BY  
JOSEPH NASH.

THE FIRST-PRIZE ESSAY AWARDED BY THE BOSTON YOUNG MEN'S  
CHRISTIAN UNION, 1878.

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BOSTON:  
LEE AND SHEPARD, PUBLISHERS.  
1878.



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11

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11 Dec 1872  
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## CAPITAL AND LABOR.

PRIZE ESSAYS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THEM OFFERED BY THE  
CHRISTIAN UNION.

It was publicly proposed, a few months since, to offer to members of the Young Men's Christian Union, not more than thirty-five years of age, prizes of fifty and twenty-five dollars, to be paid out of a special fund contributed for the purpose, for the two best essays on "The Relations between Capital and Labor in the United States." The announcement stated that "essays are to be signed with fictitious names, and accompanied by a sealed envelope containing the real and the fictitious names of the writer. Eminent men will be selected as judges. It is expected that the successful essays will be made public in the Union building, or in some other manner. It is hoped that this will be the means of interesting many young men in, and inducing them to give serious thoughts to, this most important social question."

Much interest was manifested in the above proposition, many young men responding by preparing essays. General F. A. Osborn, Professor William P. Atkinson, and Samuel Wells, Esq. kindly consented to act as judges, and have devoted much time to the careful examination of the essays. From the judges the following decision has been received:—

BOSTON, February 7, 1878.

WILLIAM H. BALDWIN, Esq., *President of the Young Men's Christian Union*:—

DEAR SIR,—The committee to whom was referred the examination of the essays written by members of the Union on the subject of "The Relations between Capital and Labor in the United States," beg leave to report that they have carefully read the essays, which numbered seventeen in all, and are much gratified in finding that they exhibit evidence of considerable study and investigation, and also show that the ideas of the writers are generally sound and correct.

They unanimously recommend that the first prize be awarded to the writer of the essay marked "Themis;" the second to the writer of that marked "Junius, 1728;" and are pleased to be able to name for honorable mention the three essays respectively marked "Alleyn E.," "A Job Printer," and "Junius."

FRANCIS A. OSBORN,  
W. P. ATKINSON,  
SAMUEL WELLS.

The sealed envelopes, containing the real names of the writers, were opened Monday evening, February 11. "Themis" (first prize) was found to be by Joseph Nash, Boston; "Junius, 1728" (second prize), was by John A. Bennett. Names for "honorable mention": "Alleyn E.," F. A. Varney; "A Job Printer," Henry A. Kidder; "Junius," Henry J. Bowen.

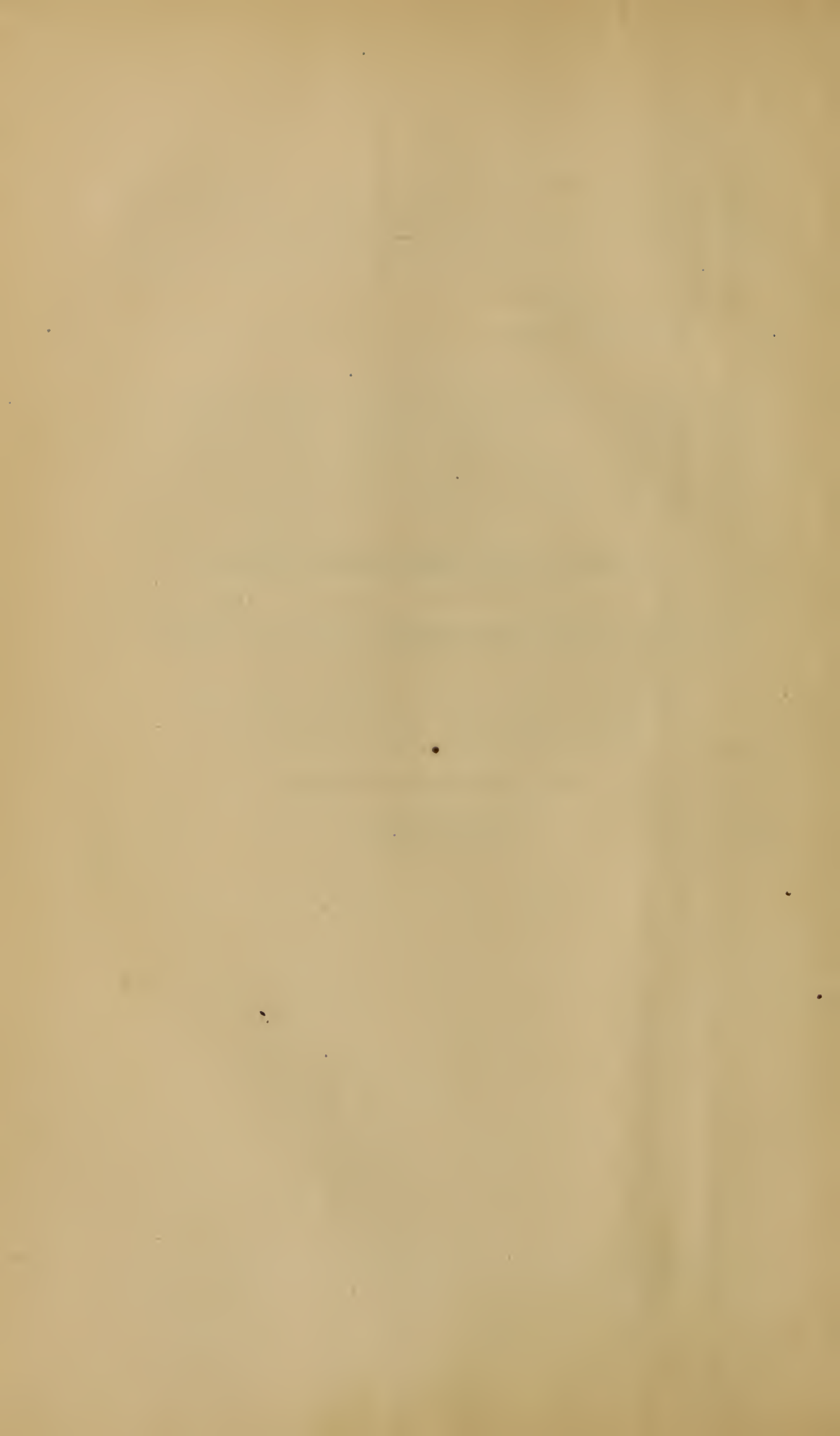
Detached parts of this essay were read at the Union Hall, Boylston street, on February 18, 1878, which the Boston press characterized as "strong, suggestive, and original in style."



TO

*The Boston Young Men's Christian Union*

THIS ESSAY IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED, AS A SLIGHT TOKEN OF  
RECOGNITION OF THE PRACTICAL CHRISTIAN WORK IT IS  
DOING FOR THE YOUNG MEN IN THE CITY OF  
BOSTON, AND AT WHOSE INSTANCE  
IT WAS WRITTEN.



## THE RELATIONS BETWEEN CAPITAL AND LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES.

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We cannot regard but with solicitude, if not with alarm, the recent, violent and riotous events in the history and progress of labor in the United States. It is a new phase in our social order, that has for us, our country, and its institutions, a more than ordinary significance. Our civilization, in its political form, has been built of forces that are peculiar to itself. They give it certain elements of strength and weakness not to be found in the modern civilizations of continental Europe, which possess, in other respects, like characteristics; being developed and unfolded by the same expanding powers of religious rule, scientific discovery, intellectual growth, and economic prosperity.

Our government is made up of the people, by the people, and for the people. Whatever irritates and distracts any considerable number of its citizens comes close and quick in its sensitive pulsation to the heart and strength of our national life. With us government and people are synonymous terms. Like the brain and the body, they are bound together by innumerable and delicate nerves. Does the one suffer, then the pain is speedily communicated to every part of the body politic. We have no strong, conservative and centralized force that stands apart by itself, governed by a special sovereignty, and controlled by a limited authority, in the maintenance of public peace and order. Do the people strike at the government and the civil rule, then they fall.



We have no soldiers enlisted in their defence but them ; no coercive power for municipal order and national unity but what they voluntarily contribute. Do the people make the assault upon our institutions, then Cæsar has fallen by the hand of his bosom-friend Brutus.

It would seem, then, that under such circumstances we must make some satisfactory solution of this difficult problem of capital and labor ; that we must find some remedy for the disease, discover some palliative to sooth and allay its inflammation ; for, should it continue to increase in its maddened intensity and purpose, who will set the bounds to what it may destroy, who limit the extent of the upheaval and change it may produce, in the present social order and political system of the government of the United States ?

For labor to raise its rebellious hand in this country and under this government, formed in its deepest interests, and fashioned to its special needs, seems to us like the hand of an evil son raised to strike down the venerated father whose first care and thought were his welfare, success, and happiness. Well may we ask the question, if capital and labor cannot be united and harmonious under institutions and laws like ours, in a country so advantageous to their growth and increase as this, where is the land, or what the political system, under which this desirable result can be attained ?

But, regret this recent trouble between capital and labor as we may, it has its lessons. The learning of them will form a kind of crisis in our national thought. Among other things, the struggle teaches us that the economic laws make no distinctions in nations or governments, in their rule and application. America has freedom and equality. She has millions of acres of rich and fertile soil yet uncultivated, exhaustless treasures of material prosperity yet untouched.

But labor riots here as well as in the most autocratic and imperial governments of Europe, where every acre of land is occupied, and every natural force pressed into the service for the accumulation of wealth, to minister to man's wants, necessities, and comforts. The economic laws are universal in their rule and sovereignty. They are confined to no nation or country in their jurisdiction. Disregard them in republic or monarchy, and the penalty is sure to follow.

As a people we are energetic and active. We hurry along, with a feverish intensity, in the pursuit of wealth and pleasure. We are not given to the study of causes. We are interested only in effects and events. We catch at the nearest way. We leap into the swiftest current, never thinking that in the fact of its swiftness lies the probability of a Niagara, near at hand, over which we may be hurled. We never anticipate or think of peril. The vessel sails under full canvas till she runs ashore; then we look about us for the why and the wherefore.

While we are not insensible to danger or misfortune, yet we require a strong electrical shock, such as this one of capital and labor has been, to set our reflective faculties in motion. If we heed the warning, it may serve a good and noble purpose in pointing out the way we may escape more fatal errors in the future.

The relations between capital and labor in the United States may have some few special and exclusive conditions that are only to be found in this country. They may consist in its climate, form of government, legislative policy, geographical position, or in some particular or material advantage which nature has bestowed upon the United States to the exclusion of all other countries. Each and all of these are important subjects of inquiry that bear more or less directly upon this controversy. But the greater importance of this question rests here, as elsewhere, in the

analysis and consideration of the laws and forces that are universal in their application to the production of the capital and the remuneration of labor. All civilized communities have here a common cause, a common difficulty to encounter, a common obstacle to overcome.

The great capitals of nations and the markets of the world have been brought close to each other by the means of the telegraph. So rapid, facilitated, and frequent has become the communication, by the railway and the steamship, of the most distant parts of the world with each other, that all nations seem bound and linked together in a common brotherhood and purpose. No nation can long enjoy profit and advantages in which others do not soon participate. No country can suffer in the decline of its production and trade, or adopt artificial obstructions to exchange and intercourse, that will not be quickly felt by all with which it trades. The blow acts and reacts. It either intentionally or ignorantly hits the mark before it, but it often rebounds and comes back with a double force to strike the hand that sent it. This economic interest seems to be one of the silent and almost inscrutable ways of Divine Providence to raise all the nations of the world to a common level, in which they shall share their mutual benefits and privileges, whether they would or no.

Not only every country, but every age and cycle of time have characteristics of thought, manner, and work that distinguish them from all others. There are local influences, such as belong to the community, government, or nation, that we can comprehend, grasp, and measure, with some degree of certainty and truth. But there are also world influences, that, like huge levers, lift all the civilized races as a unit, and fashion all they touch to one universal mould. The force and direction of these influences we cannot always understand and predict. We cannot sufficiently separate



ourselves from the all-pervading interests and prejudices that surround us to dispassionately consider and analyze them. What is the blessing of one age we denounce as the curse of the next. We run with no sight of the goal. We fall over a precipice, or land in a garden of roses.

This wide-extending influence we hold to be especially true of labor in the present century. Within the last fifty years there have been great changes and rapid strides in the social and material world. There have been great discoveries and marvellous inventions, that have almost annihilated space and time. But probably in no single phase has the change been greater than in the condition and circumstances of labor. This change in labor, in a large measure, has grown out of this new order. This new and increased application of the latent forces of nature to these powerful and wondrous constructions of mechanisms have made for it in the United States, as elsewhere, a new era and a new existence.

In this change man has been largely separated from the soil. Everything like dependent servitude has been zealously fought and largely overcome. Man's life, it is true, has become more independent, but often more responsible and precarious, in proportion as it has attained this end. The gaining of liberty often means the loss of bread. He has been drawn from agriculture to manufactures and commerce. At the beginning of the present century seven-eighths of the population of the United States was rural and engaged in farming. The last census showed that the balance is now as greatly against agricultural labor, as it was seventy or eighty years ago in its favor. Now, not more than one in seven of the people is so employed. In England the change has been still greater. Only three millions of her entire population gain their living by cultivating the soil, while she must annually import cereals to

feed ten millions of her population. She expends yearly more than a hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling for this purpose. About fifty per cent. of the population of France is still attached to the soil. England, it is true, under the present system of the division of her landed estates, cannot become an extensive agricultural country.

Under this new régime new trades and employments have sprung up, requiring special and skilful training, which when once acquired are seldom abandoned. There have been multiplied divisions of labor, having a special type and character. Each attracts unto itself its several artisans, who have attained a proficiency and celerity in its performance that they have in no other. The general character of labor, such as our forefathers possessed in settling the New World, has become special. Doubtless, in the new quality of labor, irrespective of machinery, the facility and capacity of production have been greatly increased. A few men now can do the work of a hundred of a century ago. The loom and the spindle have built up large towns and cities that but for their invention would never have existed. Machinery and commerce have brought within the attainment of the lower orders of society articles of consumption, comfort, and adornment, that two centuries ago a queen or a duchess could not have commanded. Queen Elizabeth dined on roast beef and beer; potatoes at the table of King James I. were a luxury; and the humblest citizen can now read by a light that royal eyes could not then enjoy.

It is out of this new order of the classifications and associations of labor, this ease and quickness of communication, that the trade-unions have had their origin, and derived their coöperation and unity. This vivid and strong contrast in the conditions of capital and labor, the employer and the employé, has been greatly intensified. Each has been amassed in greater quantities, and they have been brought

in direct contact, where they were formerly more widely diffused. These new conditions have given a renewed impulse to the intensity of this modern antagonism between capital and labor. In this highly attained rapidity and cheapness of production, by these trained bands and classes of workmen, nations are rivalling each other in the race for wealth. It is out of this great economic saving of labor that the present order of civilization, in no small measure, owes its prosperity, power, and glory; its boasted superiority over those that have preceded it.

Whence arises this industrial conflict between capital and labor? Volumes have been written, commissions appointed, associations formed, courts organized, to answer this question; yet strikes continue, trade-unions multiply and increase, and labor grows more discontented, factious, and rebellious. It is not the few thinkers and writers who will settle this controversy, while the laboring classes are left in neglect and ignorance. It is not a burden that the few can sustain; but one where each member of society must press forward to bear an intelligent, human, and Christian part, or it falls to the ground.

A Christian humanity, an intelligent understanding of the primary laws of the science of political economy, or the science of the accumulation of wealth, we believe to be both involved in the relations between capital and labor in the United States. Whatever tends to the production of capital, the decrease in the supply and competition of labor, or to the contentment of labor in its present status, are lines of investigation that go directly to the deepest interests of this important controversy. Labor is entirely ignorant of the economic laws that govern and control the conditions by which it is remunerated. Capital is often hard, exclusive, and unsympathetic. The crystallization of society in its social form is, perhaps, one of the inevitable tendencies of time and human



nature. Government sometimes assists, but cannot always resist, this influence. Often, like the atmosphere we breathe, we are unconscious of its existence. Societies, that have passed through many ages of opulence and wealth, naturally tend to autocratic assumptions of superiority and class distinctions. These often make labor feel that somehow it is disgraced and humiliated, with a curse upon its brow that it has done nothing to incur.

We cannot deny it, regret it as we may, that money in the United States is becoming the general basis of our social orders. It has here a boundless power and significance, that is, perhaps, to be found in no other order of civilization of modern times. Railway and other corporations can buy everything with their check-books, even, it would seem, almost the government itself. Large accumulations of wealth, that, under the direction of enterprise, integrity, and humanity, are the greatest blessings to the community and the State, are frequently becoming, by a sad perversion of the best objects and purposes of money, to be a great curse and misfortune. Unfortunately, by many it seems only the means to gratify a tinsel vanity and a hollow ambition. We can close our eyes to this fact and tendency, but they nevertheless exist. We can close our eyes to the sun, but that does not make the sun the less.

Labor does not, however, demand of capital an equality in a social sense. This is not the grievance of labor against capital. It is a humane interest and kindness that it seeks in its struggle, irrespective of the wages, be they high or low, by which it is remunerated. Labor wishes to be treated like flesh and blood, and not like a machine, to which political economy limits and prescribes it. And here we think it is that a solution of this problem, wholly by the science of political economy, will still leave much that is irritating and unsatisfactory. Human nature, in its essential

characteristics and repeated phenomena, we believe to be no less a science than political economy. Whoever attempts to solve any problem directly connected with its passional life, that does not make it the form, if not the basis, of what would be demonstrated, is reckoning without his host. Political economy can do much, but it cannot do all, to bring capital and labor to a just, thorough, and intelligent understanding of each other.

The fate of the laboring man in regard to the amount of wages he shall receive hangs suspended between two causes, — that which produces capital, and that which reduces the competition of labor. Wages is but a relative term to the cost of living. Money wages may be high, yet of no advantage to the laborer. The proportionate expense of what he consumes may be so great that at the end of the week he has nothing to save out of his earnings. The cheapness of an article of necessity or luxury depends upon the number engaged in its production, the facility by which it can be produced at the least possible application of labor, and the demand for its consumption.

The ancient Greek laborer received nineteen cents per day. Yet, when a day's labor could buy a sheep, and six days' labor an ox, he was receiving comparatively high wages, to the laborer who gets two dollars per day, and a sheep costs him four dollars, and an ox twenty dollars. When sheep can be purchased at so small a sum there must be many engaged in their production, when compared to the demand for their consumption. At this price of meat the laborer could have his table bountifully supplied while earning the miserable daily stipend of nineteen cents. We know that there are many laborers of the present day, in continental Europe, who can earn three or four times this amount, yet rarely see meat upon their table. And we have no doubt that meat presses hard upon the wages of many a

day-laborer in America. We fear that it will press harder in the future than it has in the past.

In the consideration of the wages that labor gets there are always two things to be considered: what it positively receives, and what it costs it to live. The economic sword is never sharpened only on one side. It always has two edges. While we follow the course and direction of one of those edges, we may be entirely ignorant of the execution and havoc that the unseen edge may be doing. As Bastiat, the French political economist, has said, "There is always the seen and the unseen." The seen is the number of dollars that labor is paid; the unseen is the purchasing power of those dollars, in the markets, of necessities and comforts. Both of these must always be contrasted and subtracted, one from the other, before we can have a just and accurate remainder to inform us of the true status of labor, to note its advancement or decline.

When we read that wages are any stated sum, in any particular age or country, our lesson is but half learned. We must next know how much meat or bread that sum will buy, to ascertain if labor is well or ill paid. An historian may quote the prices of labor, in different ages and countries, to show how much better off it must be in one age and country than in others. But this is a very false standard. One set of figures in the seen may prove a statement that would be an absolute lie in the unseen. We are often reminded of this when the different advocates of opposing industrial policies make exhibits of figures to maintain their different positions. These often may be but half the truth, and that the smallest half. It is the telling of a lie by omissions and silence. Is England losing in any industrial interest, look and see if she is not gaining double the amount in some other. Are the United States increasing in the business and manufactures of any protected article,



be sure that some other interest, by its loss, decline, or contribution, is not more than paying for this increase.

Writers on political economy are not entirely unanimous on the wage-fund theory. Yet it seems to us that they substantially arrive at the same end, only differing in the ways they come to it. It is evident that capital must have its interest, or it will not be invested. The employer or the manager must have his wages or profits, or he will not work. If labor gets what remains, we cannot possibly see how it can obtain any more. The conflict is, perhaps, more directly between labor and profits as represented in the employer. For labor to deny capital its interest would be destroying the means and subsistence by which it exists.

The wage-fund principle of political economy teaches us that the amount of wages that labor will receive, at any given time, or place, or in any trade or occupation, is simply one of division; that capital is the dividend, the number of laborers the divisor, and what remains after the process of division is the quotient. There are only two ways to make this quotient larger. Increase the dividend, the divisor remaining the same, and the quotient will be larger. Lessen the divisor, the dividend remaining the same, and a like result will be obtained.

If there is a wage-fund of five hundred dollars, and there are one hundred laborers competing for its distribution, the result will be that each laborer will receive five dollars. But if there are five hundred laborers to be paid out of it then each one can only receive a dollar. It is self-evident that labor cannot get more than there is. All additions to capital, all investments of profits, in an extended and enlarged business, mean an increased demand for labor, or a higher rate of wages to those engaged. If there are two employers and only one laborer then wages will go up.



But if there are two laborers seeking work of one employer then wages will go down.

In the economic world much which seems to be lost is only transferred; what one has apparently lost, another has gained. An investment may be unprofitable, but the money that has established it, or has been seemingly sunk and lost, has gone to new hands. The railway may return no profits, but the wealth that has been expended in its construction has begun new enterprises or enlarged those already in existence, in the production of wealth and employment of labor. The railway failure we see; but we do not always see and follow the new distribution of wealth it has occasioned, and the silent forces it may have set in motion in the industrial world. The spirit of competition, and the ceaseless, voracious passion of selfishness, which the workman generally regards as his most bitter foe and relentless destroyer, are really his truest friends and most steadfast protectors. They are the heart of the great business world, the centre around which it revolves. They dispense light and warmth to the farthest parts of the world. Were it not for competition then capital would oppress and grind labor to the barest verge of subsistence, as the meanness or avarice of the employer might dictate. There would be no power to relieve it from its miserable and unfortunate condition. Were it not for selfishness, acting true to its grasping and covetous nature, then profits would cease to go to capital, enterprise would be abandoned, and business of all kinds would fall into decline and ruin. The laborer, finding nothing he could do for his support, would either have to starve or return to a state of semi-barbarism.

Labor is interested in the high rates of profits as much if not more than capital itself. These profits will again return to capital to increase the wage-fund to make higher wages, or to give employment to those pressing forward to

enter the industrial pursuits. Here, if the laborer would cast his bread upon the waters, in the form of low wages, to increase profits, he will receive it back again in an enlarged capital. But it is also equally true that capital is interested in high wages, for through an increased consumption they will as inevitably find their way back to enlarge business and increase profits.

It is difficult for labor to understand and accept this law of supply and demand, this process of division, in determining the amount of wages it shall receive. It ascribes wages to the generosity or avarice of the employer. The laborer works hard and long, in the most disagreeable and life-destroying occupations, only to earn a scanty and beggarly subsistence. He sees his employer and the capitalist living in ease and luxury, engaging only in such tasks as taste or fancy may dictate. His judgment moves slow and reluctantly to a conclusion his feelings and his passions are so strong against, with apparently much reason on his side. He has no faith in the economic theory. The science of political economy to him is but a concerted conspiracy, continued from age to age in the interest of capital, to defraud labor of its just reward and honest remuneration.

But history shows us that wherever labor has been scarce then wages have always been high. In the reign of King Edward the Third the whole of England was afflicted with a plague of uncommon severity, and the people died in large numbers. Immediately after this event wages began to rise, and it was found necessary for legislation to interfere to regulate the price of labor. When the Puritans and the early settlers began to cultivate the New World, wages were high, and it was almost impossible to obtain workmen at any price. Governor Winthrop says in his journal that a laboring man could earn as much in three days as would keep him the seven. The merchants of the colony of Massa-

chusetts Bay said they could better afford to pay the English manufacturers two hundred per cent. profit than to manufacture for themselves, so high was the price of labor. Here again the legislative authority of the colony interceded and fixed the sum that labor should receive, attaching a penalty to both the employer and employé who broke it. But if it is right, just, and wise, for parliaments and legislatures to fix the price of labor when it is scarce, then there are certainly the same reasons why labor should have the benefit of legislation when labor is plenty and wages low. But, doubtless, the best policy for governments to pursue is not to prescribe any industrial laws between capital and labor.

It has been truly said that they who would find truth must dig deep. The stones lie upon the surface, but the precious ore is deep down in nature's storehouses. There is much in the science of political economy that is in direct contradiction to what general opinion, popular belief, and superficial observation have formed of it. To throw aside these errors requires patience and diligence. This true and not this false instruction must be brought home to the door and threshold of labor.

Let us pause a moment to see how this law of supply and demand operates. Suppose there is a community of five thousand individuals, — three thousand are rich and two thousand are poor. The three thousand who are rich have meat; the two thousand who are poor cannot obtain it. The supply of meat is limited to three thousand pounds. The rich, being moved by humanity, gives each of the poorer members of the community enough to pay for a pound of meat, at its standard price, when only the three thousand are purchasers. What is the inevitable result? Why, the moment that the additional two thousand enter the market to purchase meat up goes the price, and they are just as far from their supply of meat as before, and would be until their purchasing



power equalled that of the rich, or the supply of meat was increased.

This illustration, the principles of which are taking place every day in the economic world, not only shows us the law of supply and demand, but also shows us what is the true wealth of a country. Labor has generally a very erroneous and perverted idea of wealth. It calls it gold, silver, and greenbacks. But this is not so. They at best are only a symbol of wealth, an evidence of so much labor performed. If there are a thousand bushels of corn in a community or a country, all the gold and silver in the world would not make that thousand bushels of corn any more. If there are a thousand bushels of wheat in one balance, in proportion as you put in the purchasing power of greenbacks, or paper money in the other, up goes the price of wheat, and tons of paper money would not add a single grain to the quantity of wheat.

Paper money is comparatively worthless in the cheapness of its production. Gold and silver would be worthless if they could be obtained on the same conditions. In our last war we saw how the increase of paper money made an increase of prices without a corresponding addition to value.

Professor Cairns, an English economist, has prepared a table in one of his works, by which he shows that since the discovery of gold in California and Australia, and its great increase in the monetary system of the world, there has been a proportionate rise in the prices of all articles of consumption. Should new mines be discovered, and gold more easily obtained than at present, then this rise in prices would still more rapidly increase.

This economic balance is a most delicate one, and will weigh to the hundredth part of a grain. In Australia a certain kind of boxwood is used, that is brought all the way



from South America. This same wood grows in abundance in the immediate neighborhood, and costs nothing, only, to fell it. In the early history of the colony of Virginia that State attempted to exclude tobacco in its productions, and to encourage manufactures. But tobacco, in spite of all the legislation against it, was the master; and at the beginning of the Revolutionary War that colony exported annually a million of pounds sterling of this article, that largely maintained the balance of colonial trade. In our own time, wheat is shipped three thousand miles to Europe, while it may be sadly wanted in New York or Boston.

In the great commercial operations and industrial enterprises of the present age we cannot always see the delicacy and test the accuracy of this economic science, for want of figures and data, but which we believe always exists. It is of this force, that will draw a pin around the world, if it is for its interest to do so, and will not move a bushel of diamonds a sixteenth part of an inch, unless in obedience to some of the laws of its intricate structure, that labor should have some knowledge and insight, if we ever expect labor to understand its true position and interests in relation to capital. And this we think applies with almost equal force in the United States as in any other nation. It is true we have much teaching in this country, but comparatively little real deep and practical instruction. We seem content, in an astonishing degree, to glide upon the surface.

How to increase capital, the dividend of wages, is the objective point of all modern civilizations and nations. Capital is the all-pervading atmosphere that surrounds the economic life. It limits what can live and what must die. Does labor or population press hard upon capital, then there is suffering, misery, and death. Capital is the parent of industry, and assists in a new distribution of wealth. It gives work to the poor, employment to the idle, and makes

an increase of population desirable and profitable. When capital and labor are mutual in their wants and needs then peace, plenty, and happiness abound, so far as the economic harmony can produce them. But have they grown out of proportion to each other, especially if labor is the larger of the two, then there is faction, strife, hunger, and crime. The prosperity and advancement of the present social and national systems seem closely linked with this increase of capital. And especially we of the United States, who claim that our civilization is in advance of every other, cannot give this part of the subject too much attention. When idleness and misfortune are the result of indolence, or a false pride and vanity, we certainly can have no sympathy, and can find no remedy for such an affliction. But when honest manly and womanly labor is forced to idleness because it has outgrown capital, and placed itself beyond succor, from this source, then we have arrived at a sad condition of economic development.

Capital is realized either from increase or economy, from the positive addition of something to the wealth of the community, or a saving in its annual expenditure. Increase your means, restrain and reduce your wants, and the result in both cases is the same. Although a contraction in the economic world may have the effect to do much injury to certain industries, yet it is much better that this gradual decline should come, than a general failure by the individuals of a community living beyond their means, or indulging in expenses that must end in ruin.

The people of that nation or country are no doubt the most prosperous who are the greatest consumers, and at the same time save and amass the greatest amount of capital. Such a condition as this in every community must be the standard of its national progress and superiority. Tables well supplied, houses healthy, agreeable, and pleasant, homes

with an air of ease, plenty, and comfort,—these bespeak a season and a land where sunshine, warmth, and beauty have largely entered into the lives of the inhabitants. It is not how the few rich of every nation live, but what are the surroundings and comforts of the laboring classes, that are the highest tests of its true prosperity. Expenditure and economy are contradictory terms, and, if we can practise only one, it is far preferable to be economical.

That nation is most rapidly gaining wealth, in comparison and competition with the increase of the wealth of other nations, that is applying the economic forces to the industrial pursuits that are of the greatest advantage to her in the markets of the world. And here we know there has arisen a wide, earnest, and deep conflict of opinion and theory in regard to agriculture, manufactures, commerce, protection, and free trade. These various industries and national policies are advanced and maintained with much zeal and confidence by their respective partisans that they are the true ones; that in the adoption or rejection of some one of these theories lies the prosperity or ruin of the United States. One party asserts that the greatest and most rapid accumulation of wealth is in manufactures; another in agriculture; a third in commerce; a fourth believes in protection; and a fifth sees nothing but failure and ruin outside of free trade. But, as a nation cannot adopt and pursue all of these policies, it is evident that by many it can be fated only to general bankruptcy.

This industrial and national economic conflict has not confined itself to the United States alone, but has been agitated, discussed, and has divided since the days of the ancient republics. Under all kinds of governments and in all climates these policies have been advocated; one of them at one time successful, and at another defeated. A dogmatic assertion of the claims and advantages of either of these sys-



tems will probably never bring the converts of each to think more of their opponents or their systems. For the want of an all-comprehensive and accurate data, both in the seen and the unseen of the economic world, a result will not, probably, be soon reached that will admit of no dispute or contradiction in these controversies. In them, however, so far as they may aid or retard the accumulation of capital, may lie an important factor in the solution of the problem of "the relation of capital and labor in the United States."

We believe, in this matter, that the economic forces are stronger, and that the economic laws are wiser, than any that man can produce. Some writers maintain that in manufactures is the quickest and surest way to wealth. But this can be so only in a relative degree. The industrial balance is continually changing. How impossible the practice that all nations shall encourage and engage in manufactures. Let this be the custom, and it would soon be profitable to cultivate the barren soils of Greenland, and every small patch of ground would become a mine of wealth. It is in the harmony of the three great divisions of industrial labor that peace, plenty, and prosperity can only be maintained. This division cannot now be limited to a single nation, but must be enjoyed by all. You can pay no regard to this if you wish, but we think there is a greater power than man's puerile weakness that is directing the great engineering of life. In nothing is this power more signal than in the industrial world. In production and in the division and distribution of labor it is man's great mission to find out what nature demands of him. In proportion as he works in harmony with her, he prospers and lives; as he works against her, does he suffer and die.

The production of manufactures in the United States in 1790 has been estimated at twenty millions of dollars. The population then was about three millions. The value of the productions of manufactures in this country in 1870, making



an allowance of thirty per cent. for an inflated currency, was three and a half billions of dollars, and the population was forty millions. In 1790 the value of the production of manufactures, per capita, in the United States was six and two-thirds dollars; in 1870 it was eighty-seven and a half dollars. The policy of the United States between these periods has been largely a protective one. Here certainly has been comparatively a large and rapid increase in the value of manufactures. But, in so far as this industry has been increased by protection, we believe that the agricultural interests and wealth have had to pay for it, to the utmost farthing. Agriculture has lost, manufactures have gained, by protection. The sum that by the policy of protection agriculture has paid for manufactures is the difference in the price it has had to pay for American manufactured goods, and what the same goods could be bought at in home markets from foreign manufacturers. Paul has been paid, but Peter has been robbed. There certainly has been a seen gain in the value of manufactures; but has there not also, at the same time, been an unseen loss in agriculture?

The national policy of England, in regard to protection and free trade, has been a somewhat changeable one. In 1650, when her great rivals, the Dutch merchantmen, were becoming the common carriers of the merchandise of the world, England passed a series of laws known as the Navigation Acts. These acts were the most rigid and severe in the interests of the protective policy. That nation wished to exclude her Holland competitors from trading in her colonial dependencies of America. These acts were warmly praised by commercial and political writers of the time. They were termed the *magna charta maritima*. But since then the free-trade policy has been adopted by that nation. By some it is claimed that the protective

policy has been the palladium of her commercial prosperity ; while others have been as strong in their assertions and testimony that the protective laws brought her to the verge of ruin ; and the same regime, continued a few more years, would have plunged her into a bloody revolution, civil anarchy, and decay.

The protective policy, it is claimed by its advocates, keeps up the price of wages in the United States. Wages certainly have been higher in the United States than in England ; but this we do not believe is wholly due to the legislation of protection. One of the reasons why wages have been higher in this country than in England is in the increased demand for labor. But let the national policy remain what it now is, for fifty years, we think that wages would fall by the inevitable law of supply and demand. It is impossible to prevent this result by an artificial barrier or protection. It is beyond the power of man to resist or control it. But where protection keeps up the price of other commodities, as well as that of labor, the latter loses nothing by its removal. Wages come down ; but in the same ratio the cost of living is lessened. That which reduces the cost of what labor uses and consumes, in proportion as it reduces its remuneration, is of no disadvantage to labor.

The national policy may do much to accelerate or retard the accumulation of wealth. Whatever does this lies very close to this relation between capital and labor. The things that legislation can do to aid in the increase of capital are very few ; but the things it may do to prevent it are very many.

If one country can manufacture cheaper and better articles than another, or all others, then that country ought to do it, not only for itself, but all the world. If one country can grow wheat cheaper than all others, then it

should be the world's storehouse for this article, until some other country can excel it. But, even with free trade, England has not banished her pauperism and poor-rates. When one in ten of her population is a pauper, and, in hard times, one in six has to be assisted, then it would seem that this panacea, after a thirty years' trial, will leave much to carry on the conflict of capital and labor.

There is much in this struggle and competition of nations to do everything for themselves and neighbors, that resembles the selfishness of an avaricious man. He desires to grasp everything himself. It pains him to see friend or foe pursuing any successful industry or business. He has all he can do himself; but his greed outruns his judgment. It beclouds all his faculties. This might do if man was to live like Robinson Crusoe, independent of his fellow-men. But God and nature have decreed a different way. They have ordered that there shall be mutual help, assistance, and a mutual interchange of benefits and services. No nation, at the present day, can cut itself off from the rest of the world. Isolation is not independence. It is narrow, selfish, and small, — dwarfing the man or the nation that practises it. If we sell to England, France, or Russia, then there is nothing more inevitable than that we must buy of them, or give them what we produce. In interchange there is profit. When the profit ceases then the interchange will stop. In proportion as other nations are dependent upon us, just in such a proportion must we be dependent upon them; the service cannot long be on one side.

While we believe in protection and prohibition, to limit false and extravagant wants, and to correct the perversion of capital, yet we do not see why one nation should not partake of the special benefits that nature has made for all mankind. While we can understand that the infant cannot contend with the giant, we have yet to be convinced that it



is cheaper for one nation to produce or manufacture for itself what it can buy at a much less cost from others. By the protective system the industrial occupations of a nation are no doubt multiplied and increased ; but they are weakened just in proportion as they are not extended and broadened by some other force and interest than a merely artificial one. It may do very well to start a man in business who has the elements of success ; but to keep one in business, who has not the experience, industry, and capacity to sustain himself, is an unprofitable and losing investment. So we think it is with protecting an industry by national legislation. We believe just in proportion as a nation is producing or manufacturing for itself what it can purchase in another market at a cheaper rate, just in such a proportion is it pursuing a policy of impoverishment and ruin.

A great deal has been said in our history about the American system. By this, as we understand it, America is to produce and consume herself. She is to cut all the economic cords by which she is bound to the trade and interests of foreign nations. Her wants and needs, and the means to satisfy them, are wholly to be found and brought forth from her own resources and industry. She desires neither to buy nor to sell to neighboring nations. She is young, vigorous, and prosperous, and does not wish to unite her youthful energies to the age and decrepitude of continental countries. But America in time must grow old, in the economic sense. She cannot resist age any more than can the individual. Her rich and virgin soil will not always yield productive crops at so little expense as at present. It will soon become worn out in the service, and will not give unto man, only what he has first given unto it, to renew and strengthen its wasted life. America, with her manifold interests, does not show that she is advancing towards that happy state of seclusion. With more than five hundred



millions of her bonds, and other securities and stocks in the hands of foreign capitalists, an annual importer to the amount of more than a half billion of dollars, her economic life seems, as yet, closely connected with that of foreign nations. If to live by yourself, and upon yourself, means strength and prosperity, then the protective system is the true one.

We do not think, however, it is for a nation to decide by any course of arbitrary legislation upon what it has prejudged its interests. It is not for the legislative authority at Washington, London, or Paris to announce whether these several nations shall be agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing. There is a more wise and comprehensive wisdom than man's directing and controlling in this industrial selection. It is the economic power that never waits on legislatures for its instructions or orders. It is, no doubt, a poor trade to export wheat in exchange for French feathers and India shawls. But if the wives and daughters of the workmen of the United States must have extravagant dress and useless gewgaws, it is best that they should have them as cheap as possible, or there should be a prohibitive tariff upon them so high that it would place them above their reach. We are not ruined by what we can't afford, but by what we think we can. This perversion of wealth is of vital importance in the relations of capital and labor in all countries; but it applies with double force in the United States, where the natural tendencies to extravagance receive a strong impulse in the freedom of the political form. But, fortunately, however strong the dose of poison by legislation that man may give to the economic life, it in a measure carries its own antidote with it. However deep the cut, the economic physician is at hand, with soothing medicines, bandages, and ligaments, to heal the wound as far as possible.

Political economists separate production into two divisions

or kinds, in its application and use ; the production that is immediately absorbed and wasted, and that which turns into renewed capital, and becomes the source of other wealth. The greater part of the production of a country is annually consumed. Much of man's toil necessarily is being destroyed and wasted while he is engaged in the work of production. The fires of the body must be kept constantly supplied with fuel, or they go out. Healthy and wholesome food means a more efficient force, that has a greater capacity and endurance for labor. Yet out of the wreck of this annual havoc and destruction man could keep himself in as good a condition to perform his labor, indulge in all the comforts he now enjoys, and still make larger additions to capital, by saving, than are now often realized.

The amount that a people annually consume, in proportion to what they save in the form of capital or wealth, is very great. England, during more than eight hundred years of labor, has only accumulated about thirty billions of dollars. Each year she produces more than a third of this amount, so that, were it possible for the people to live without consuming, in less than ten years the entire wealth of England could be saved. The wealth of the United States in 1860 was estimated at about fourteen billions of dollars, and the annual production set down at something more than two billions, so that once in seven years the entire wealth of the country is produced. In 1870 the value of production was estimated at seven billions of dollars, and the wealth of the nation set down at twenty-five billions. This was a currency valuation, on which some allowance should be made. It is by reason of this great annual consumption that nations so rapidly recuperate their prosperity after a prolonged and destructive war. That which has been destroyed by the enemy would soon have been consumed by the inhabitants,

had no war existed ; — an observation in the economic conditions first made by John Stuart Mill.

Economy and saving in the production of capital belong to no class or order of the community. Interest or profit, as Mr. Senior has justly said, "is the wages of abstinence." But who economizes to meet this end? Who plans or directs their life with a view to the general good as well as their own comforts and pleasures? Perhaps seldom the rich and not always the poor. Here we think that the two extreme ends of society are sadly at fault.

From not fully comprehending and applying the laws of political economy to the practical affairs of life, there has grown up a false opinion as to what society can do to assist in the advancement and well-being of labor. It has become a kind of a settled conviction, in the order of public opinion, that the wretchedness, misery, and poverty of the lower and working classes is a predestined curse, which we cannot escape nor relieve ; that the lowest forms of labor and want must often, if not always, go hand in hand ; that industry must sometimes starve and die for the need of capital to set it in motion.

The reason is evident. There is much in the present order of civilization, in the United States as well as in other countries, that is a contradiction and a paradox. There is a Utopian spirit abroad that intensely desires to see labor benefited, and the lower strata of society raised above what it has hitherto attained. But if the majority in power and wealth have really any strong faith or abiding hope in this new condition, they must do something to develop it, besides to talk and write about it. They must bring work and sacrifice to the movement, for it will require of each all that can be summoned. There is no homely phrase truer in the science of political economy than that, "You cannot have your cake and eat it."



We do not deny that there is not much in the relation of capital and labor, that is not deep down, and high above our heads, in the depth and height of the economic forces, which we cannot readily understand. But there is also much in it that lies at our feet, shrouded in no intricacy, if we will stoop down and pick it up. To do this, we must at least bend our backs and stoop.

Pampered self-indulgence is a marked characteristic of the age. There seems a total inability to engage in any work that does not end in self-enjoyment, vanity, and show. We want the prize. We think how noble and beautiful it would be to win it in the cause of labor and humanity; yet we are not willing to make any effort in its attainment. Self is the most worshipped hero of the age. Self, no doubt, is the friend to labor in the motives to the accumulation of capital, but, pushed to its utmost limit, it can only exist on a vast strata of poverty, misery, and crime. Ancient civilizations prove this, as do many of those of Continental Europe. When the plough marked the limits of the eternal city there was no proud and haughty patrician, no oppressed and degraded plebeian. Poor-laws in England were comparatively unknown till the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Governor Winthrop reprimanded Deputy Governor Dudley for building an expensive house at Newton, lest the example should encourage others of the colony to do the same thing who could not so well afford it. Will the social and industrial system of the United States pass through the same phases that now characterize some of the European systems? To the observant there must be seen an all-prevailing element that is waxing stronger, and spreading its wings broader, that bears directly on this relation of capital and labor in the use of capital and application of wealth, which we believe God, in his own way and time, will correct, reform, and redress.

In regard to the use of profit, Mr. Perry, the American

economist, says: "Whoever transforms his property into capital establishes thereby a permanent fund whence he may draw an income and laborer's support in perpetuity; because the capital, though constantly disappearing in production, as constantly reappears in products with profits added, — a fact which shows the folly of the popular opinion; which regards more favorably the man who spends his money freely and unproductively than the man who, turning his money into capital, building a mill, or making some other permanent investment, creates by that means a fund in the community out of which permanent wages and permanent profits can be paid. The strength of the motives to abstinence in any country will depend largely upon the character of the government and the organization of society there."

These motives, Mr. Perry thinks, are strongest in the United States. But the recent response by the French peasant citizens and capitalists, upon the call of France, for a government loan amounting nearly to half of the debt of the United States, showed that economy and abstinence had been practised by that people to no small degree. French bonds did not have to seek a foreign market at a depreciated value of sixty per cent., as did many of the bonds of the United States during the late rebellion. There are, doubtless, many motives to save in the United States, that do not exist under other forms of government; but the motives to save seem also to promote extravagant expenditure in this country.

In the use and application of profits to productive and non-productive investment lies a great force in the industrial world that can revolutionize the present distribution of wealth, and remove much that is irritating and antagonistic between the different orders of society. It is impossible for any one to limit how wealth shall be spent by its possessor; but it is in what we term "the abuse of capital," that labor has not a groundless cause of complaint against capital. It is

not within the economic province to consider this view of our question, in the relations between capital and labor; but it nevertheless is a vital one. While the non-productive use of wealth employs and pays labor, yet it dies with itself. There are two forces at work in benefiting labor in capital going to productive employments; the one economic and the other moral.

In the investment of capital to productive industry is a way to assist and advance the interests of labor. Does any member of society desire to benefit the workingman, let him, instead of buying a house that costs a hundred thousand dollars, take one that costs fifty thousand, and apply the other fifty thousand to the employment of producing and independent labor. If any rich and humane woman of society is grieved at the poverty and distress of the working-classes, let her deny herself the purchasing of diamonds costing thirty thousand dollars, which to true taste can never add to her beauty, and certainly not to her worth, and apply it to some productive industry, to increase the demand and remuneration of labor. What is the result of this application of wealth at the end of the year? Why, that the fifty thousand and the thirty thousand dollars have each gained unto themselves an additional sum, in the form of interest and profits, and honest labor has been employed and paid in the only way that wealth or capital should ever be applied to its maintenance; in a productive, independent, and honorable industry. More wealth must go to productive industry. This is what modern communism demands in an economic way in the distribution of property. More from self, show, and ostentatious luxury, to the general good and prosperity of the community. In this wealth loses not itself but gains in a legitimate accumulation.

But what does the laborer do in this matter of economy to produce capital? Is he entirely without blame? Cer-



tainly not. He is often a spendthrift and a prodigal, wasting his substance in alehouses, beer-shops, and rum-cellars, consuming it in bad habits that not only make him a physical but a moral wreck. In this consideration of our subject, we think not only in humanity, but in justice, some apology should be made for the laborer. When his day's work is done, he is at a loss, often, how and where he shall spend his evening. As has been said, "Amusement is a Christian duty." The workingman has no resources nor means to obtain the higher and more beneficial kind of amusement. He is unconsciously drawn into the lower, more ruinous and destructive. The laboring man does not seek the ale-house and the gin-shop from choice, to spend what may remain, or the whole of the wages of the day. He is forced there, from the dearth of a better companionship and a more ennobling influence, to hold him up to the instincts and impulses of his better nature. Then, again, the laborer has not the inducements to save and economize that other classes have. He says unto himself, "Why, my miserable, solitary pittance put by will never amount to anything. Let me drink and be merry, for to-morrow I die."

Both in this country and in England the sum annually spent by the laboring classes for alcoholic spirits, tobacco, and other articles, that it would be much better for them to throw into the fire, is as great as it is sad. In England the average tax of the laboring man is twenty-one shillings. Of this eleven shillings and four pence are paid for alcoholic spirits and tobacco, and only nine shillings and eight pence for all other expenditures. According to the authority of Mr. Levi, while the laboring men of England receive less than one-third of the total income of that country, yet they consume two-thirds of the total amount of wines, spirits, and tobacco. In 1860 the laborers of England spent up-

wards of seventy millions of pounds, almost a half of their entire earnings, in these capital and life destroying habits.

The amount expended for these products in England at the present day we have seen stated at one hundred and twenty-five millions of pounds, or between six and seven hundred millions of dollars. In this country the amount spent annually at the national drinking-cup has been stated as being more than six hundred millions of dollars, as in England, about half of the total wages, or income of labor. The cost of food in the United States is but a little in excess of what it costs to drink alcoholic spirits. This is a sad waste of capital by those who need it most, and are importuning wealth to supply it.

It is said there are points at which all sciences touch each other. But this science of political economy has strong, far-reaching, and magnetic forces. Its arms are long. They can almost clasp the universe. They stretch out so as to embrace much of the interest, welfare, and happiness of the human race. Its presence may not always be seen; but, concealed from common observation, it is sending its life-blood through the fibres, tendrils, and branches of the social, industrial, and even the religious and economic world, with a power and uniformity, but little realized, and not always felt or understood.

By its widespread circulation the emotional man is bound to the industrial man. Political economy regards man, we may say wholly, as a force in the material world, like the stroke of an engine, or the turn of a windlass. There are, however, humane relations of capital and labor, of which we have spoken, where this machinery connection and adjustment does not exist; where the humanity power is greater than the economic power.

Of this humanity relation between capital and labor we are indebted to Mr. Brasse for the following signal illustra-

tion : At the French exhibition, at Paris, in the summer of 1867, premiums were offered for examples of the most marked success that could be found of the harmony of capital and labor, employer and employé. Among many others, there was a striking illustration, showing that the labor of man is not always obtained and held on the same conditions as the turn of a shaft and the stroke of a hammer ; that the humanity of capital is something in the problem, or, at least, can be made so. The most signal instance of this harmony, there brought to light, was that of Mr. Quitolf, a manufacturer of Portland cement at Stettin. When the war broke out in Austria his business became seriously embarrassed, and he was on the verge of ruin. On learning of his unfortunate situation his workmen united to a man in the labor of helping him out of his difficulties. To avert his impending bankruptcy they not only readily submitted to a reduction of thirty-three per cent. in their wages, but they cast all their hard-earned savings into the hazard to save their employer, making themselves the bridge on which he safely passed to more prosperous times. We shall not have to look far for the reasons of this action on the part of labor. It had been treated, not as a machine, but as flesh and blood. Mr. Quitolf had won for himself the grateful devotion of his workmen by the paternal interest he had always shown them. They had lived together in peace and union. Every Sunday, in the summer, Mr. Quitolf had been in the habit of going with his workmen, five hundred in number, to an island at the mouth of the Oder, where they were accustomed to spend the afternoon in singing choral music.

What would have been the solution of such a state of facts by political economy? At the first reduction of a half of one per cent. the workmen would have deserted their employer and gone over to his rival. And as to the investment of capital in such a venture, it could only have been



obtained on a good and ample security, and that the rate of interest would have been in proportion to the insecurity of the loan. In nine cases out of ten, or perhaps in nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand, the solution by political economy would be the right one.

We have no sovereigns in our political order. But there are sovereigns and master powers to which this man is never false nor turns traitor, be he workman, laborer, or the lowest and humblest of God's creatures. It is the sovereign of a noble and Christian humanity, as here displayed. If the humanity of the nineteenth century is what it professes to be, it should more often be seen acting as mediator between capital and labor. There are social and intellectual barriers in life, which it is impossible, and it is perhaps not desirable, should be thrown down. If, however, the social order becomes autocratic and controls the political order in the republic, then its rigidity and severity are often more strongly enforced than in an empire or a monarchy.

Messrs. Briggs, coöperative colliers in England, are doing a most successful work in the coöperation of capital and labor, making the stockholders in their business their workmen. Where formerly there were the breaking of machinery, strikes, riots, drunkenness, and often bloodshed, there are now peace, order, and prosperity, mutual esteem, respect, and confidence.

Other corporations and employers, in different parts of the world, have been equally successful in the harmonious and intelligent understanding that exists between capital and labor. At Halifax, Paris, in Germany, and among the slate interests of Wales, the coöperation of capital and labor has been successfully demonstrated.

We know of no such coöperation, on a large scale, that exists in the United States. There was some years ago such

a coöperative system at Troy; but this we understand has since been abandoned. One reason for the absence of this coöperation between capital and labor in this country rests in the favorable circumstances that labor has hitherto experienced here; many laborers soon becoming small capitalists, and in their turn the employers of labor. But as population increases, and presses upon the industrial forces for employment, the condition of labor in the United States, in the future, will tend more towards a European development.

We do not say that there are not many valid reasons why this coöperation between capital and labor can never become a universal system in the relations of these two important interests. But some of the arguments brought against it should have no place in the discussion of this controversy. Many object to it on account of the trouble and annoyance it would give to the employer to permit the workmen to look over the books, and explain to them the true conditions and interests of business, in which labor has a share. This is just what labor should understand, and one of the great reasons why strikes, riots, and lock-outs occur is because they don't understand it. Such an argument as this can only be advanced in the general spirit of the selfish indifference and exclusiveness of the age.

When and where was any great movement accomplished but by trouble, patient submission, and heroic sacrifice? This problem may be as great as any age or time has been called upon to adjust. We must take care of this question, or it will take care of us. Is it unreasonable that this suspicious, child labor, suspicious because it is ignorant, should not wish to understand that it is getting its due? Once assure it that you are treating it fairly and honorably, and it will trust you, though you slay it. In Messrs. Briggs' establishment this confidence between capital and labor has been secured.

Political economy, in its highest development, means

freedom, liberty, and equality. It is always working in the interest and realization of these principles. The harmony of this science will sometime be more thoroughly comprehended and understood by nations and statesmen than at present. The freedom of labor can never be perfect. In the mobility of capital and labor, capital has the advantage of labor. Labor has heart, ties of blood, kindred, country, and locality, that trouble not capital. Capital can go from one investment to another, from one part of the world to another, comparatively without trouble or difficulty, in the great work and interest of equalization. But labor moves with more pain and slowness. This is fully shown in the excellent work by Mr. Brasse on work and wages.

Generally, we are averse to governmental or municipal regulations in the interests of the economic forces. But we think, in aid of the mobility of labor, much good might be accomplished in the establishment of industrial schools and colonization societies in every large city, not only of the United States, but of the world. They would greatly aid in taking labor from where it is not wanted, and sending it where there is a demand for it.

The industrial pursuits can and will regulate themselves. But in the United States, where the political form is so free, ambition is in danger of being overstimulated. There is a strong governmental tendency for labor to enter the higher grades of employment and professional life, where there is no demand for it. There is the need, but not the power. Ninety per cent. of the criminals are men who have been brought up to no trade. Industrial schools would often open the door to an honest education in labor, that would be a boon to a life that often finds itself wrecked in the course of its own choosing. It is driven to despair



from what is false and unfortunate, rather than from what is evil or vicious.

This harmony in the industrial occupations must and should be maintained, to avoid the cry of hunger, the moan of misery, and the remorse of wrong-doing. While agriculture cannot extend itself more readily than manufactures without capital, yet agricultural occupations can be successfully increased, while those of manufactures and commerce have reached their utmost limit not only of capital but of population, and both wait for an increase of agricultural products before they can move. Workingmen and others are drawn into large cities from a wrong impression of their advantages and benefits. Once in them, they have no means to get out, especially if they have families. Often by this forced detention and poverty, crime is committed, with equal violence to the unfortunate victim as to the peace and interests of the Commonwealth. Jails are now as often the asylums of misfortune, the refuge of poverty, as the stone walls and iron bars to punish what is criminal in man. They should be considered as hospitals of economic and mental disease. Crime as often needs the physician as the prosecutor. Popular opinion is sadly at fault about this mobility of labor. It is not limited by green pastures and fertile fields, but by capital. You might as well say to labor, Go to the moon and cultivate there, as to say to it, Go West, or Go South. Even the early settlers of the New World had some capital to begin its cultivation. If wheat is burned for fuel in the West, and families are starving in New York or Boston, either there has been a wrong distribution of labor, or the highways of the country have been blocked by dishonesty, ignorance, and corruption.

The territory of the United States may be capable of supporting a population of three hundred millions, and yet not be more densely populated than continental Europe. But

forty millions may press more heavily upon its capital for subsistence than would the three hundred millions, when the population of the nation shall have reached that limit.

We believe that such a movement, in the interests of the mobility of labor, has been inaugurated in the city of Boston. We think that such an organization in every large city would do more to settle the question, "How shall the country regain its prosperity?" than many more elaborate papers that might be written upon it and plans suggested.

The railways of a country have an important part to perform in the work of distribution. The highest intelligence and honesty should be exercised in their management. The highways of a nation are its veins of circulation. Are they obstructed, then every industry is paralyzed, and ruin begins. They should not be controlled by ignorant combinations and irresponsible monopolies. Both capital and labor demand of them that integrity that belongs to the government itself. In 1830 the number of miles of railway operated in the United States was thirty. In 1870 there were over seventy thousand miles, whose gross earnings amounted to \$526,419,935. According to Mr. Poor, the railways of England pay five per cent. on the capital invested, while those of the United States pay more than ten per cent. If there is any industry that should be operated on a minimum of profit, it is that of intercommunication of one part of the country with another. If railways can be managed better by government than by private corporations, then the government should manage them.

Both capital and labor, however, have erroneous opinions and judgments as to the functions of governments in the conflict of the industrial forces. Governments, no farther than they assist in carrying out the purposes and designs of

freedom, facility, and harmony in the economic forces, are powerless as an infant. All the governments in the world cannot, of themselves, raise a spear of grass or produce an ear of corn. All the exchequers, treasuries, printing presses in Christendom cannot create a dollar's worth of value. It can use capital in production or distribution only as private individuals may use it. It can subsidize steamship and railway lines. But unless there is a prescribed demand, or these steamships can carry merchandise as cheap as those of England, France, or Holland, then the steamships will soon lie idle in the docks, and be dismantled at the wharves. The government increases the rate of tax to make up what it has lost in the investment. Governments never pay back what they receive from the people. They spend it, and call for more. When there is no cash or assets, it gives notes on printed paper, rather than go into bankruptcy. The people of the United States, in national and municipal taxation, are taking the lead of nations in this respect. But a government can assist labor by keeping its plighted faith; having a sound and stable currency and monetary system; being scrupulously honest and thoroughly intelligent.

We fully appreciate the advantages and benefits of education in the efficiency and skill of labor. To this fact, no doubt, the labor of the United States owes much of its improved condition over that of continental Europe. But, then, there is a danger of pushing this matter of education too far beyond the arc of the economic circle. There is a limit where education will not improve labor in the attainment of an honest living. The first object of labor is to earn an honest and independent support. After this, you can point as high on the register of civilization as you wish. There may be a demand for manual labor, but none for intellectual labor. But the intellect, when once cultivated and refined, does not take up the tasks of hard toil as



willingly as when brought up only to such an occupation. The statistics at Washington exhibit that labor is improved twenty-five per cent. by education. When, however, educated labor is in excess, the economic index will not fail to show it. But the great trouble is, that communities and nations go on suffering certain economic disorders, when they do not understand what afflicts them. Statesmen, philanthropists, and politicians apply the wrong remedies, that increase, rather than diminish, the disorder.

Labor is grieved at the injustice and wrong with which it feels that capital oppresses it. To defend itself, trade-unions have been organized on a large scale in England and this country. Fifty years ago in England not a thousand laborers belonged to them. At the present day a million are pledged in their support and purposes. International societies exist in every nation. Some of these societies have large sums invested in carrying out their designs. Some writers claim that these unions have raised the price of wages five per cent. within the last decade. Admitting this, the strikes, lock-outs, and forced idleness, they have occasioned must have more than offset this advantage, a single strike often costing labor alone hundreds of thousands of dollars. As organizations of mutual help and assistance they serve a good and noble purpose, and have sometimes prevented strikes rather than multiplied them. Under intelligent management and leadership they would be of great efficiency to the well-being of labor. But as a means to raise the price of wages, and put more into the laborer's pocket than they take out, we think they are helpless and pernicious. We do not say, that could labor press capital on all sides at the same time, but what capital might be forced to yield some of its rate of profits that it now exacts. This pressure must be universal, and extend to every part of the industrial world. If capital is bearded in one trade or

locality, then there must be no refuge to which it can flee to obtain what it claims for itself. Like everything else, when there is no longer a demand for capital at a certain rate of interest, then it must take a lower rate.

Napoleon said "that the bank of France was established to loan money at four per cent." There are, however, limits to which the utmost concessions must be confined. There are minimum rates of interest and profit, below which, capital would not seek investment to compensate itself, and the responsibilities, toils, and cares of business. But should labor ever succeed in driving capital to such a condition, where it will not seek investment, then it will simply have been its own hangman and destroyer.

Labor has frequently manifested in the United States, and in Europe, an antagonism and hatred of machinery. We would ask it, why it is that the population of England within the last three-quarters of a century has been far greater than it had previously been since the Norman conquest, and the increase of wealth still more rapid? Why is it that the commerce and trade within the last forty years of three of the leading nations of the world, including the United States, has arisen from five billions of dollars to forty billions? Why is it that the lowest orders of society can now indulge in luxuries, comforts, and conveniences, that a king, a hundred years ago, could not bring to his palace? Why do towns and cities rise as by the wave of a magic wand? The relation of machinery to population, labor, and capital is an important inquiry that we can here only suggest. Destroy machinery, and labor would suffer as much as any other class of society. Machinery benefits labor in two ways: first, by accumulating capital for its subsistence; next, by diminishing the cost of articles consumed. As the economist Bastiat says, "Manual labor is lessened in one direction, only to be employed in another." The amount

saved to the buyers by a cheapened production enables them to procure other comforts, and thus make a larger and increased demand. The standard of labor is not lowered, though that of the general well-being of society is raised. The labor performed by machinery and steam has been estimated as high as eight hundred millions of laborers. M. Chevalier, of France, calculates that the steam-engines of England alone do the work of forty millions of workmen. Take machinery out of the world, population would decrease, the cost of what we eat and wear would advance, and civilization would take a backward course.

In the decrease of the supply and competition of labor, there can be no conflict of opinion as to its effect on the price of wages. In this view of the question, public opinion and religious sentiment are as yet strongly opposed. It is considered as false and groundless; that God can, and will, take care of his own. We do not think that it is a very pleasant and satisfactory view to take; but that population in many communities presses heavily upon capital and the means of subsistence cannot be denied. From two to three millions of paupers in England, apparently, can have no part in the industrial system in that country. It is estimated that there are three or four millions of forced idle in the United States at the present time. This, as Carlyle says, "is one of the dismal sciences."

The world is doing but half its duty when it gives a man a loaf of bread. What it should do is to assist him to earn his own bread. Public or private charity, except to the sick, the lame, the blind, and the helpless, should be abolished, and banished out of this and every other country. It injures and demoralizes both parties, the giver and the receiver. We are not doing our highest duty to carry others' burdens, but to help them to carry their own. On this subject of over-population, we shall quote John Stuart Mill. He says :



"Unhappily, sentimentality, instead of common-sense, is the genius that usually presides over the discussions of these subjects. While there is a growing sensitiveness to the hardships of the poor, and a ready disposition to admit claims upon the good offices of other people, there is an all-but-universal unwillingness to face the real difficulty of their position, or advert at all to the conditions which nature has made indispensable to their physical lot. Discussions on the conditions of laborers, lamentations over its wretchedness, denunciations of all who are supposed to be indifferent to it, projects of one kind and another to improve it, were in no country, and in no time of the world, so rife as at present. But there is a tacit agreement to ignore totally the law of wages, or dismiss it with an exclamation of 'hard-hearted,' 'Malthusian;' as if it were not a hundred times more hard-hearted to tell human beings that they may, than that they may not, call into existence swarms of creatures who are sure to be miserable, and most likely to be depraved." It is not generally wealth that draws the largest number about the fireside, but it is poverty, living on the barest means of subsistence, that has the greatest number of mouths to share nothing but its hunger and squalor. Capital, however, knows no parentage. The world's children, whether rich or poor, are all alike to it. Some writers say that there can be no such thing as over-population; that population, whatever the rule of its increase, cannot possibly outrun the means of subsistence. In one sense this is true; no more can exist than can find bread. But if there is a perfect balance in the great industrial pursuits; if there is a free mobility of labor; if the various trades, occupations, and professions are evenly distributed in their employing capacity; if nothing obstructs, alarms, or intimidates capital, we would ask philanthropists and statesmen how, when, or where could they extend the employing resources, to set to work what should remain idle

in such a condition of economic and industrial development? We recognize that such a state is not probable, and scarcely possible. As a last resort, there can be no doubt but what the problem will yield to the solution of a decrease of population in raising the price of wages.

But there should be no real antagonism between capital and labor. Capital is only produced by labor. If there was no labor, then there could be no capital. One is helpless without the other. Capital, when once accumulated, is the employment and support of labor. Does capital suffer, then labor is not prosperous. Is capital drawing no interest, then labor is earning no wages. Is capital lying idle in vaults, then labor is out at the elbow, and looks anxiously around for what it can get for dinner. If there is a conflict between capital and labor, then it is because labor does not understand its true interests and relations with capital. The eyelash does not fall more quickly over the pupil, nor the arm go more instinctively to the head at the approach of danger, than does capital seek shelter and contract itself when there is the least movement to injure its security, or threaten its protection. At violence it becomes paralyzed, and the more labor pursues it with the sword, the swifter it will flee from it. Does capital wish to get the best and most effective force out of labor in the creation of profits and wealth, it must be treated as something more than a machine.

Opulence and wealth are prone to forget what they owe to labor. Let labor cease for twenty-four hours and truly would riches take wings. Want would soon be in the best-stored larder. In a week your fine marble buildings and luxurious homes would be but charnel-houses. Wealth, rather than shunning labor when it meets it, should take off its hat to it and thank it for what it enjoys. Labor is the foundation, capital the edifice. Samson labor may pull down

the pillars and supports of the social structure, and bring ruin to both, but undermost lies labor.

It may be thought by many that the freedom and equality of the political form in the United States will eventually become a saving power to labor in the triumph of a working-man's party ; but we do not think that such will soon be the case. Labor, as yet, has not shown the intelligent choice of leadership that would save it, or work out its higher redemption and deliverance. This is often shown in the character and principles of the candidates it puts upon its tickets, and its communistic enunciations. If the laboring men had the national policy under their control, they would probably adopt such a course as would hasten it to ruin, and operate the most severely against their interests and prosperity. It is an intelligent power we need to preserve and save us ; not ignorant power, however honest and manly. With the last two qualities left out, we have enough of the latter kind of power already.

Many centuries ago, in the history of the Roman commonwealth, a large number of the Roman citizens withdrew themselves to the Aventine hill in open mutiny to the civil order, with swords in their hands, mainly upon the issue of capital and labor. Valerius, who was one of the delegates sent to them by the Roman Senate to conciliate and address them said, "It's the shield you need, and not the sword." This is the spirit of the mottoes that labor should put upon its banners, rather than those we often see displayed there. It is the guidance of honest and intelligent protection that labor needs, rather than the leadership of demagogues, which is the surest and most certain way to anarchy and destruction.

A republican form of government is quick in its passions, and ambitious of crystallizations, in certain policies that are often hard and unjust. It, more than any other form of



government, must keep itself fresh, healthy, and vigilant to its highest life. What is every one's business and interest is under the direction of none. There is no tyranny like the tyranny of a majority. In the Roman world, labor under Augustus was more prosperous and contented than in the last days of the republic. This has been experienced in other nations than Rome. This is the abuse rather than the best use of representative government, which, with certain restrictions and limitations, we believe will be the government of the future. A workingman, in writing of the late strikes and conditions of labor, in what he claims of the ballot that should protect it, says, "We are sick of this game; we are soul-weary of looking around for sympathy or a spirit of justice, and finding none."

Self-protection, you say, is the first law of nature. True; but do not be too short-sighted as to the means to secure that best and most durable protection. Every man is interested in the success of every other man. Every community should be interested in the prosperity of every other community. Somewhere the most opposite parts of society meet in the economic balance. The barber and the prince, the street-vender and the capitalist, come together here, if nowhere else. The most distant nations touch each other in their commercial exchanges.

The economic world moves in a circle. There are no squares, angles, or points, at which it reaches its end, and flies off into space. If any part of the circle is broken, or its life becomes stagnant, then the disease of hard times begins and continues, until industrial circulation has again been sent through every part of the economic body. Is business dull at London and there is a shrinkage of values, then its effect extends to New York, San Francisco, Boston, Paris, Berlin, Moscow, and Pekin. It is the seen over-production, the unseen idleness; no employment, no wages, decreased con-

sumption, no demand. The harmony between the great industries has been destroyed. There is no demand for labor in manufactures and commerce; there is capital lying idle for investment, and honest hands waiting for something to do. These two must combine in agricultural production, to quicken and set in motion the other two great industries. Agriculture was before manufacture and commerce in the order of the industries. It is the fountain-head from which the other two gain their vigor and magnitude. The current of the channel is low, stagnant, and torpid. You must put more water into the source to give it a new impetus and force. The machinery has become too cumbrous and expanded for the motive-power that moves it.

Our late war may, in part, have been the cause of much of our present business depression. The government was a large employer of labor and consumer of production. When it ended, large numbers of men were thrown suddenly upon capital for employment that it had adjusted itself to do without. This surplus must be absorbed into new enterprises of agricultural investments.

But an inflated currency has done more than any other one thing to debase, debauch, and demoralize everything. When an increase of currency or the circulating medium is attended with a sudden rise in prices, it is an infallible test that it does no good to the industry of the country. An unlimited paper currency means bankruptcy. It costs little or nothing to produce it; its value depends upon legislative enactments. The purchasing power of money depends upon its quantity. If it consists of a comparatively worthless substance, then the supply must be limited. If coinage is unlimited, then its value will depend upon the cost of production of the material in which the monetary article consists. Labor should understand that its greatest and most vital interests depend upon permanence, stability, and

confidence, as much as upon justice. These will carry even the most vicious system and heaviest burden with apparent ease ; while the best monetary policies and measures that are continually dangling between defeat and success, caught by the gills in uncertain life, mean certain death. We say this not only of the monetary system, but of the political system, in the interests and welfare of labor. To change parties or administrations is of no benefit to labor only as the change will assist in a higher economic prosperity. Confidence is the life of capital. Constant agitations and fermentations frighten and alarm it. As Lord Mansfield said of the law, "It is not more to have it just than to have it certain."

Inflation is a great wrong ; it is an economic crime to labor. It is a revolution in prices, and of itself, in the measure of money values. The greater the quantity of a debased currency, the more widespread the ruin. Contraction, it is true, is also often hard and unjust in the new adjustment. When a bankrupt nation enjoys five years of apparent prosperity, it is evident that a state of intensified bankruptcy must occur. There is no benefit in increase of prices with no corresponding addition to values.

Mr. Wells has written thoughtful papers on how the nation shall regain its prosperity ; but we hope it will never return to prosperity based on the conditions it has experienced since 1861. We think in the relations of money to prosperity, values, labor, and population, there is yet much to be adjusted, in detail if not in principle. If the monetary system be national or international, then the financial condition of a country will depend upon its industrial laws and commercial exchanges. You are not prosperous because you have gold. You have gold because you are prosperous. Since the discovery of gold in 1848 trade has risen in a proportion of one to eight.

In no nation, in the ten years from 1861 to 1871, was there



ever so great a change in the manner of doing business as in the United States. How to make a fortune without labor or creating any real value, either in production or distribution, seems to be the great problem of the scheming business world. Speculative and worthless corporations are in every town and city. More than half the amount of the national debt has been sunk in worthless investments within the last few years. Knavery and idiocy seem to have largely entered into the commercial and financial world. We mortgage the future, spend the money in extravagance, and when the pay-day comes we are sorely troubled and perplexed. We are suffering from a disregard of the economic laws, an honest industry, and an honorable integrity. The pay-day comes, but our coffers are empty.

The conditions of capital and labor are governed by the same economic laws in this country as everywhere else. The superior advantages and prosperity of labor here we believe to be largely due to the great natural advantages of the material wealth we possess over other nations. Our liberal and advanced system of education has greatly aided in the worth and value of our labor. But unless the higher grades of employment are willing to return to the lower grades, it is only a question of time when it will tend in the wrong direction. Agriculture has done much for the prosperity of this country, and it yet has the power to do much more for it, if the people will not lose sight of this great source of wealth. In the Roman State, aside from the civil life of the forum, there were but two honorable employments: those of the farm and the camp. The comparatively high price of wages in the United States has come from causes that cannot always exist. The freshness, vitality, and vigor of the morning must give way to the heat of the noon-day, the twilight, and shadows of the evening. We must live on the interest and not the capital

of our national, material wealth, if we would not have it vanish. The nation enters upon the second century of its existence, but with as much need of all that is heroic, humane, intelligent, and conciliatory, as it did upon its first. It is often more difficult to retain than to win. It seems to us that the recent strikes have proved that the political form of this country will not bear the pressure of some of the European orders. Perhaps it is well that it should not.

The immediate cause of the open conflict between capital and labor, so far as it applies to labor, comes from the ignorance of labor. There is a misunderstanding between these two interests; capital will not always understand labor, and labor cannot understand capital. Labor sins more through ignorance than intention; therefore a court having the confidence of capital and labor, rightly and intelligently administered, would be an efficient means, often, to adjust amicably the disputes and grievances of both. A court of this kind has been long established in France. Lord Brougham stated in Parliament, in 1859, that of twenty-eight thousand cases submitted to the *Conseils des Prudhommes*, twenty-six thousand eight hundred of them were settled without appeal. The science of political economy should become a popular branch of education in our schools. All classes of society should take more interest in it. It will help them to understand the wants, needs, and hardships of each other. It will bring them nearer together in thought, if not in personal relation. We do not live here as though we thought the class distinction was to disappear in the hereafter. Only by production or spoliation can property be obtained. Certainly, labor is not going to choose spoliation. Should it madly do so, then chaos has come again. The ballot-box will be thrown aside for the bayonet. The sword will be both our destroyer and our master.

It is hardly necessary to remind the labor of the United



States how much better it is paid and fares here, than in most other nations. In England the average wages of labor is not more than fifty cents per day. Nineteen pounds sterling is the average yearly income of the workingman to support himself and a family of five. In France, Switzerland, Germany, and Austria it is not much better. Woman in the industrial conditions of these countries occupies a different place than she does in the United States. In France out of 19,585,115 agricultural laborers, 9,860,820 are females. Labor must be more content to dress and care for itself according to its circumstances. It should not try to pattern the ways and expenditures of those who are wealthy. It should cut the acquaintance of fashion, which, at best, is but the rule of the "cap and the bells."

Our subject leads in every direction. We can but partially and disconnectedly follow it in some, and must pass over in silence many others. Nothing original can be said on this subject. At best we can but make new combinations of old material; set in motion what should know no rest; bring into the light what should never sink into the shade. To think that we could write a paper that would adjust all the difficult complications between capital and labor in the United States, would be only to prove how little we comprehended the greatness of our task. We can only suggest the ways by which we think some of its grating and irritation may be lessened. Wealth is especially the motive-power of the civilizations of the nineteenth century. Capital has outgrown its economic weight and province. It now reaches circles from which it hitherto has been excluded. To be rich, now, means to be the possessor of much more than money. Trade is no longer a reproach to social position or caste.

We have spoken of the economic and humane relations of these two great interests of capital and labor. In the economic, it is a strife of capital and labor; here we think



that labor is greatly in error. In the humane or social consideration it is one order of society arrayed against the other for mastery. Here we think that capital must bear much blame. The church, that should do away with the class-line of rich and poor, often only seems to bring it out in stronger contrast, by placing itself beyond the reach of the poor. Labor knows where it is wanted. As was once remarked by a foreign envoy: "Where do your poor, the laboring men, go to church in the United States; or have you none?"

Distribution seems a more difficult question than production. An increased motive-power in the work of production can easily be supplied; but to find new markets in different parts of the world, new demands for what we produce, seems more complicated and difficult. These can only be made by industry, enterprise, cheapness in production, without lowering the standard quality. Trade must be made successful in honorable competition; whatever obstructs legitimate and healthy life in the economic forces and interests should be studiously avoided.

We sadly need in the United States more conscientious, independent, and intelligent labor. There is a dearth of this in our political and national councils. We are the most independent and dependent of nations. We look rather to our neighbors for approval than to our conscience. Never did imposture seem more frequent than at the present time, never were palaver and falsity so frequently to be found in high places. Tricksters and mountebanks seem to be at a premium. How to catch a vote is the purpose for which we trim our political sails to take every breeze from whatever quarter it may come. The dollar purifies all means by which it is obtained, however vile or base. We make drunk that we may destroy. We are dying of fawning flunkeyism and the flattery of the parasite. The man who

is not true to himself will not be true to any party or interest long. The people of the republic, like the king of the monarchy, are not always right, and can do wrong. If they err not in the heart, they may in head and passion. Labor must be able to separate the false from the true, the dross from the gold. When its hero comes, it must know and honor him. In thought, it wants not the kid-glove dalliance of an artificial manhood or womanhood. It needs the warm, true, and flesh-like grasp of a Ruskin or a Carlyle; that while it holds it as a unit in the social, law-abiding order, yet fully appreciates its misfortunes and hardships, and lies close to its restless longings and anxious strivings. Our best life is not dead, but sleeping.

But with both capital and labor a gracious Providence metes out and awards its blessings with a more even hand than is generally supposed. In honorable and independent labor is man's brightest happiness; capital treads upon thorns that labor knows not of. Social forms of caste, based upon indolent wealth, is false in every particular. It carries its own curse with it. Manly labor is a sweet sauce, that can never come to pampered appetites of indolence and luxury. To work for something besides self is man's noblest mission. We are restless and discontented for what when gained brings us no peace or happiness. Our burdens are heavy, only because we have never borne the weight of others.

Our sympathies are with labor. As Mr. Harrison justly says, "They know by hourly experience, they only know, what social suffering exists. By suffering, their social sympathies are stimulated; by necessity, their practical instincts are developed. They are free from the restless egoism which is the misfortune of all who accumulate wealth; from the self-indulgent indecision which is the curse of all who live in idleness. Theirs is the highest form of sympathy, theirs the readiest powers of action."

For Mr. Harrison's word "all" we would substitute the word "many;" for certainly capital and wealth are often to be found with a Christian, tender humanity for misfortune, sorrow, and hardship. Poverty suddenly grown rich generally makes the severest taskmaster to labor. Labor should grant to capital what it claims for itself. The wealthy man draws a large income in interest from capital. This he has earned, or it has come to him by gift or inheritance. Does not labor as well as capital defend its own if there is any attempt to take from it by force what it has justly earned? We think it would. In fact, labor goes to unwarrantable lengths in destroying work that has not come within the rules of its trade-unions.

Work! work honestly and faithfully! Work at what you can, if not at what you would. Take the way nearest your feet, though hard and stony. After a season of worthy toil you may climb glorious heights, such as your most sanguine ambition never hoped to see or realize. Look up. As Emerson says, "Harness your wagon to a star." Lift yourself above your daily drudgery when it is over. There is nothing to prevent the laboring man from being a prince in thought and feeling, though a prince in station may be a brute. Seek the approval of a clear, manly and womanly conscience, rather than what is often the fickle praise and uncertain censure of public opinion. Do right. Let the world pass on the other side if it will.

At best, there are many undeserved misfortunes, calling for the strength and support of all that is humane; difficult problems, that stare at us with the Sphinx's impenetrability, when approached, even, by the combined action of all that is high and thoughtful. Labor must not lay to capital the fate that Providence has decreed it in the world. That social or religious order that shall absorb labor, the lower and middling classes, into itself, we think is assured the triumph of



the future. The triumph will be deserved. It will be the success of the broadest humanity, and the highest element of a true Christianity, whatever be its covenant or creed. In the inequality of fortune, this all-pervading and Christian sentiment, if such can be attained, seems the only means of uniting all classes and conditions in a bond of peace, union, and harmony.

Let us not forget, that in whatever capacity we are called upon to act, either as capitalist or laborer, rich or poor, there seems but one universal allotment in which we all have our share, — sorrow, disappointment, and sacrifice; trusting in that sphere beyond the sight of mortal vision to right what here has been wrong, to redress what has been grievous, to reward us for the undeserved burdens we have here patiently borne.









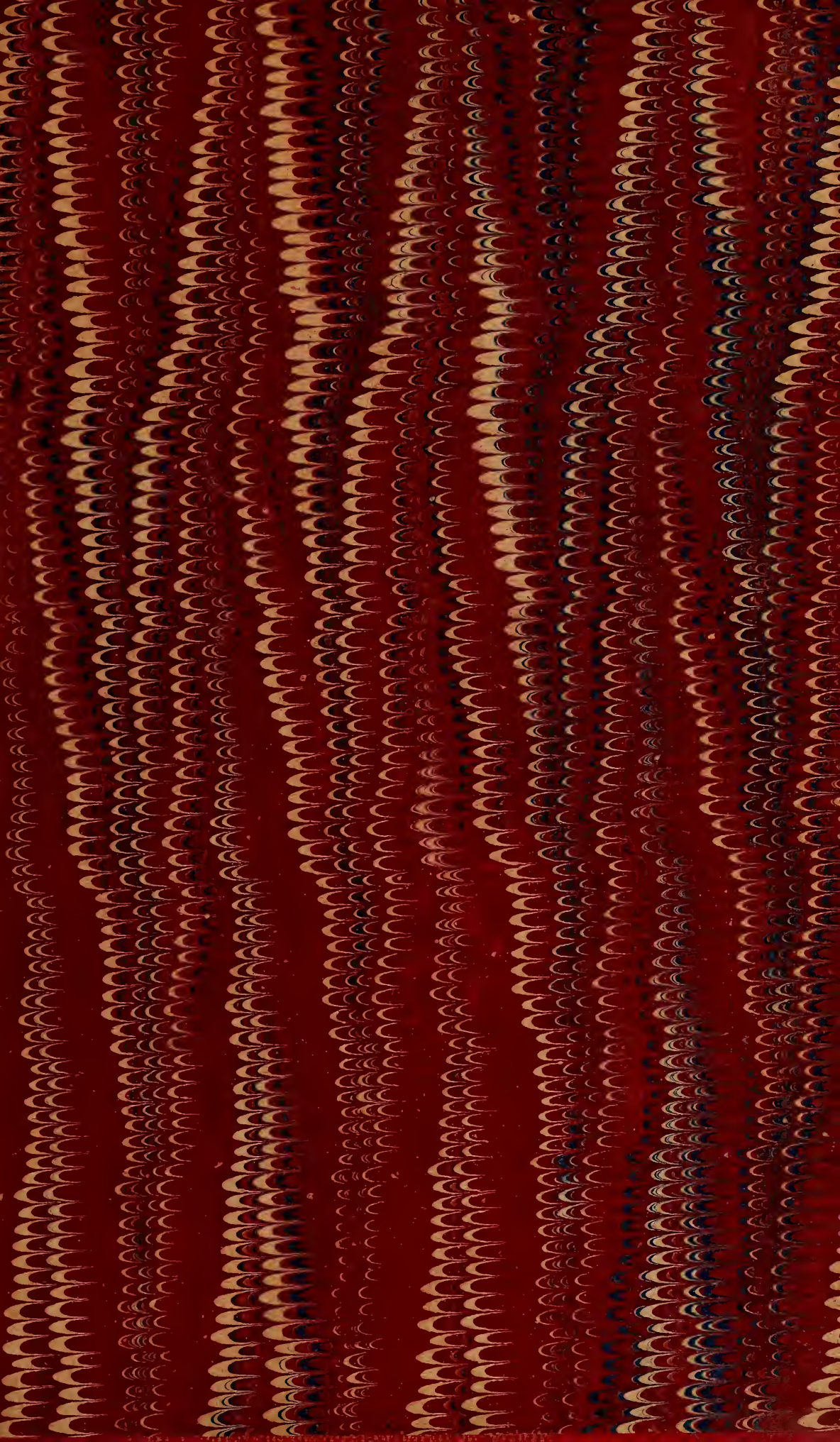














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